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Briefly Noted

Chinese Occupation and Colonization of Tibet

Thirteen years ago on 23 May, organized Tibetan resistance to the Chinese Red Army ended and the Chinese Communist occupation and colonization of Tibet was initiated. This anniversary has had very little publicity, even in the neutralist and non-aligned countries that take such fierce pride in their opposition to imperialism and colonialism, not to mention aggression and interference in the internal affairs of other countries. There is no indication, for example, that these nations are making any plans to get the Tibetan issue on the Fall 1963 agenda of the UN General Assembly. It is an ironic fact that Red China's rape of Tibet is being allowed to fade from the world's memory largely because the Chinese Communists' wanton attack on India is more recent and thus more "newsworthy."

Immediately after the forced signing of the Chinese-Tibetan agreement in 1951, the Chinese Communists began violating the agreements and undertook the communization of Tibet. The Tibetan people resisted the attempts to impose upon them a way of life that was alien to their history and incompatible with their religion. The disaffection of the Tibetan people for their Red Chinese occupiers culminated in the March 1959 revolt of the Dalai Lama which was mercilessly crushed. There is ample evidence of the genocide that has since been inflicted upon the Tibetan people and this must remain on the conscience of all men who respect the rights of peace-loving nations and who value their own freedom. Tibet's only desire toward her neighbors was to live in peace with them and because of this desire, Tibet no longer exists as a free and independent nation.

The neutralist and non-aligned nations, particularly India and others in southeast Asia who are Red China's neighbors, should understand that their willingness to forget Tibet will only encourage Peking to carry out the same pattern somewhere else. India particularly should take the initiative in reviving publicity about Tibet: not only has she recently acquired additional experience regarding Red China's aggressiveness, but one important reason the Chinese Communists absorbed Tibet was to use it as a base to penetrate the Tibetan-Indian border areas which ultimately became part of the pretext for unprovoked attacks against India itself.

On December 20, 1961, the United Nations approved -- by a vote of 56 to 11, with 29 abstentions -- a resolution calling on the Chinese Communists to free the Tibetan people and grant them their fundamental human rights and freedoms, including the right to self-determination. The appeals set forth in that resolution have universal validity and deserve the constant and continuing support of all men who oppose international aggression regardless of whether that aggression happens to be the news of the day. This resolution should be recalled to the delegations attending the UN 18th General Assembly which opens in September.

3 June 1963

Cuba's Communism No Longer "Sugar-Coated"

Cuba's average sugar crop from 1957 through 1961 was 6,000,000 tons despite artificial restrictions. The 1962 crop -- Cuba's first year of declared Communism -- fell to 4,800,000 tons which was 60,000 tons short of Cuba's commitments to the Communist Bloc. The prospects for 1963 -- Cuba's "Year of Organization" -- suggest a total of, at the most, 3.5 to 4 million tons and many estimates are lower.

Failure to meet production goals belies the propaganda about "glorious" Communist "achievements" and underscores Cuba's economic plight. Cuba promised to sell the Communist Bloc 4,860,000 tons of sugar a year through 1965 in return for equipment and other barter items. Obviously, it will not be able to fulfill its promise and even heavier outlays from the Communist Bloc will be required to maintain Cuba. Sugar sold on the open market is reaping premium prices, but Cuba's small production leaves it no surplus to take advantage of this development. Reports persist that Soviet Russia is re-selling Cuba's sugar for a profit.

Many of the reasons for Cuba's dwindling sugar production were cited in a previous Propaganda Guidance -- Item 621 WH,b. "Cuba's Sugar Crop Exposes Basic Communist Failings" (see also Item 615 WH,a "1963: Cuba's 'Year of Organization'"). They include bureaucratic inefficiency, failing equipment, lack of manpower, absence of skilled technicians and managers, shortage of cane, fertilizer and irrigation limitations, shortages of transportation, equipment, sugar bags, etc. Reduced wages, military conscription, militia mobilization, parades and other trappings of a Communist State have taken their toll. Exhortations for greater effort and the promise of machines to do the work have failed to alleviate the situation. The outlook for next year is not much better.

We cite Cuba's sugar record as an example of "fulfillment" of Communist promises and one of the underlying reasons for Castro's prolonged trip to Moscow.

3 June 1963

DATES OF PROPAGANDA INTEREST

24 June	WIDF's Fifth Congress, Moscow, 24-29 June 1963
25 June	North Korea broadcasts declaration of war; forces invade Republic of South Korea (1950)
26 June	Allied airlift to Berlin begins successful answer to Soviet blockade - <u>fifteenth anniversary</u> (1948)
27 June	8th Congress of American Educators, Rio de Janeiro, 27 June - 1 July.
28 June	Poznan, Poland: <u>revolt</u> against Communist rule; 44 killed and hundreds wounded (1956)
28 June	Cominform expels Yugoslav Party - <u>fifteenth anniversary</u> (1948)
1 July	Chinese Communist Party founded (1921)
4 July	Republic of the Philippines granted <u>independence</u> by the USA (1946)
7 July	Communist IUS backing International Seminar for underdeveloped countries, Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. 7 - 14 July.
7 July	Argentina: <u>general elections</u> scheduled
9 July	ICFTU Vienna World Youth Rally July 9-19.
20 July	<u>Indo-China</u> war concluded with Geneva Agreement 1954 (Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam)
22 July	OAS Panama Declaration of political and economic philosophy 1956. (US invited first International Conference of American States to Washington in 1899, the first step toward creating the Pan American Union.)
31 July	Malaya announced end of 12-year fight against Communist guerrillas, 1960.
August	Brazilian municipal elections in Pernambuco State scheduled for early August. Pro-Communist Governor Miguel Arraes.
6 August	2nd Latin American Youth Conference, Santiago, Chile, 6 - 11 August.

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COMMUNIST DISSENSIONS

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14-27 May 1963

Commentary

Principal Developments:

1. After months of approaches, proposals and counter-proposals, the Soviet and Chinese Parties are finally agreed to a meeting of high-level delegations in Moscow July 5 to discuss their differences on ideological and tactical matters. Both delegations will include top ideological specialists, at a level just below "the summit."
2. However, both sides continue to press their political-ideological warfare with unabated vigor, in a series of political actions, official statements, speeches and published articles.
3. Both sides seem to have made some progress in their efforts to line up support for their respective positions, -- with Peking apparently having more to show in the way of results. The Chinese succeeded in getting a joint statement in tune with their line signed with the unaligned North Vietnamese Ho Chi Minh and another by the already aligned New Zealand CP boss, and saw the chief of the important Soviet-wooed and formerly unaligned Indonesian Party come out with a speech which seemed to put the PKI openly on Peking's side. They also followed up on their success at the Djakarta Afro-Asian Journalists Conference last month by their ostentatious reception and feting of delegates of seven A-A countries from the conference. Moscow's month-long red-carpet pampering of Castro seems to have atoned to some degree for the damage to the Soviet image resulting from last fall's "capitulationism," producing a joint statement on their side, -- and Tito and his cohorts spoke out in defense of the Soviet line.
4. Moscow observers agree that Khrushchev seems to have bounced back from any threat to his leadership, demonstrating new vigor and confidence in his authority. Topping in the New York Times (May 25) reports that diplomatic representatives cite two principal factors in Khrushchev's rebound: Kozlov's illness, renewing the Party's difficulties in agreeing on a possible successor, and the Castro visit. Khrushchev has seemed to draw strength from his association with Castro, it is said, and Castro's written alignment with the CPSU is a considerable tangible achievement.

Significance: Although it is practically impossible to predict the course it will take and the immediately visible results, the forthcoming Moscow bilateral meeting may be one of the most momentous events in the history of world Communism. Both protagonists have been acting more like enemies preparing their positions for combat than fraternal members of the same club trying to reach agreement by give-and-take. The consensus of Western analysts is that the factors favoring conflict between the two are indeed of such magnitude that there will be no real chance of a stable future and the long-term prospect is for continued worsening of

Party-State rivalry and hostility. However, in its struggle for support by the rest of the world Communist movement, each Party is under heavy pressure to make a maximum apparent effort to restore unity. This compulsion is probably the only factor which brought the apparently reluctant Soviets to agree to this meeting and it will be a strong force acting to prevent any open rupture of relations and even tending to produce some sort of "papering-over" agreement which both could accept. In any case, the basic causes of conflict will in all likelihood be little affected by any "agreements" which may be announced, and the exposure of them by all means possible will continue to be a top-priority task for us.

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#4

14-27 May 1963

May 7 and 12 - The Albanians continued their attacks on Khrushchev and Tito with articles in their cultural weekly Drita on the 7th and Zeri i Popullit on the 12th.

May 14 - The CPSU announced that the plenum scheduled for 28 May would be postponed to 18 June. The announcement stated that the decision was made on 3 May, -- as though to link it with Kozlov's illness which was announced on 4 May. On the same day, Peking announced its acceptance of a new CPSU proposal that the bilateral talks in Moscow begin on 5 July.

May 15 - The CPSU announced the names of a top-level delegation, headed by Suslov, for talks with the Chinese beginning 5 July. The announcement recounted that the CPSU had originally proposed 15 May for the talks, that the CCP had proposed postponing until mid-June and that the CPSU had countered with the 5 July date "because June is filled with previously planned events, including some that are international in nature." (There has been subsequent speculation that the really important "international" event in June might be Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia: such a visit has been referred to as forthcoming in a 16 May article by Unita's Moscow correspondent Boffa and in a 20 May Radio Moscow broadcast in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia.) And on the same date, Pravda had a speech by French CP chief Toretz to an FCP plenum denouncing the "left-wing deviation" of the Chicoms as the main danger to international communism.

May 15-16 - Chinese chairman Liu Shao-chi climaxed his week-long visit to North Vietnam by delivering a sharp polemical speech to the Marxist Institute in Hanoi on the 15th and winning Ho Chi Minh's signature to a joint statement on the 16th which gave an impression of Vietnamese support for Chinese views. The Vietnamese avoided any clear-cut commitment to the Chinese side and did not really move from their previous "non-alignment": However, the statement conveyed the appearance of support by emphasizing a number of common ideological positions in conflict with the Soviet line and including Ho's tribute to China's "socialist construction" while omitting mention of other questions on which Ho's views are closer to the Soviets. At the Party school, Liu stated that the international Communist movement is now "in a crucial period of utmost importance" because of an "acute struggle between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists" centered around whether the people of the world "should carry out revolutions or not, and whether the proletarian parties should lead the world's people in revolutions or not." It is the task of all Marxist-Leninists, he said, "not to evade the challenge of modern revisionists but to unite to smash its attack completely," and he urged all Communists to study the works of Stalin -- as well as Marx, Engels and Lenin. The joint statement puts both parties on record as emphasizing unity on the basis of the 1957 and 1960 Moscow resolutions, which means that "in the present circumstances, revisionism, in other words, right opportunism, is the main danger in the international Communist movement.... It seeks persistently to...deny the historical need of proletarian revolution and to...deny the historical need of the proletarian revolution in the period of transition from capitalism to

socialism and Communism....Yugoslavia is the concentrated expression of modern revisionist 'theories.' ... Further exposure of the Yugoslav revisionist clique remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries." Both parties also "reaffirm the necessity of calling a meeting of representatives of the Communist and workers parties of the whole world in order to eliminate the differences and strengthen unity," for which "it is necessary to make adequate preparations," including bilateral talks such as those scheduled between the CPSU and CCP, which are greeted with satisfaction. "Ho Chi Minh pays warm tribute to the great successes achieved by the Chinese people in socialist construction under the leadership of the CCP and Chairman Mao Tse-tung and guided by the three red banners -- the general line for socialist construction, the great leap forward, and the people's communes."

May 13 - Delivering a major policy speech to a CC plenum of the Yugoslav Party, Tito voiced his gratitude to Khrushchev and his associates for making possible improved relations with the CPSU (through the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Party Congresses) and then launched into a hard-hitting attack on the Chinese, who "are persisting in their dogmatic positions on relations within ... the Communist movement." Noting that "we have been accused of revisionism" by the Chinese leaders, Tito acknowledged that "we do not consider ourselves infallible, just as we do not consider a Communist Party or movement infallible, and least of all the CCP leadership." However, "practice and results are the best gauges of the correct application of the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin," and "if we regard the practice and the results achieved by the Chinese Communists in their internal development, then their errors have been of Himalayan proportion in comparison with ours." Noting the Chinese claim that the Yugoslav economy is in a continual and profound crisis provoked by a return to capitalism, Tito said "I am sure that they would be extremely happy to find themselves in such a crisis." He states his opinion that the Chinese charge of Yugoslav return to capitalism is made solely to undercut "the great prestige Yugoslavia enjoys in the Asian and African countries," and goes on to accuse the Chinese of developing "nationalism of the worst possible kind" which is reflected "in the policy of pitting the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against the peoples of Europe and the developed countries." He also points an accusing finger at the Chinese for inducing factional strife and interference in the internal affairs of other parties and countries by disseminating in other countries "various kinds of pamphlets with a dogmatic content, materials containing slanders and distortions of the truth," against other parties and their leaders. Finally, in foreign policy, he accuses the Chinese of outright Trotskyism in their slogan of "a permanent offensive." Other participants in the plenum also attacked the Chinese, including Dobrivoje Vidic, who stated that "about 400 anti-Yugoslav articles have appeared in the Chinese press in the last five months."

May 13-19 - Journalists from Basutoland, Cameroon, Ceylon, Japan, Pakistan, South Africa and Zanzibar who had attended the A-A Journalists Conference in Djakarta 24-30 April were received and feted in Peking by the All-China Journalists Association and the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, whose chairman,

on forming a new organization of their own -- the Afro-Asian Journalists Association," according to NCNA.

May 19 and 25 - Comrade V.G. Wilcox, Secretary General of the CP of New Zealand, arrived in Peking at the invitation of the CC CCP, according to NCNA. On 25 May NCNA reported a joint CPNZ-CCP statement which included the assertion that "to side with the Yugoslav revisionists is nothing but betrayal of Marxism-Leninism."

May 20 - Radio Belgrade announced that the Yugoslav Secretariat of Foreign Affairs had handed the Chinese charge a note protesting "the brutal and slanderous attack on Yugoslavia and its foreign policy contained in the joint declaration of the Chairman of the CPR, Liu Shao-chi, and the President of the DVR, Ho Chi Minh, published on 16 May in Hanoi."

May 20 - NCNA announced that the combined issue Nos. 10-11 of Red Flag had just been published, with the last seven chapters -- Nos. 13 through 19 -- and conclusion of the massive series on "Lenin's Struggle Against Revisionism and Opportunism." The conclusion states that Lenin's 30-year struggle shows that "although revisionists and opportunists may raise a loud clamor for some time, they are generally only a reverse current in the whole Communist movement, and will eventually be overcome by the revolutionary tide of Marxism-Leninism."

May 23 - Speaking at a Moscow stadium rally in official farewell to Castro, Khrushchev referred only briefly to differences with the Chinese, which he said were the subject of fabrications in the bourgeois press, and he promised to "do everything to have this (CCP-CPSU) meeting...eliminate the differences." However, he was obviously alluding to the Chinese when he said: "It is necessary to fight resolutely against any division of the revolutionary forces under any pretext. Non-class division by continent, color or skin, or any other standard, means a division of the forces of the working class." The joint Khrushchev-Castro statement signed the same day put Cuba firmly in the Soviet camp.

May 26 - Pravda printed a full page of extracts from the 18 May Tito speech described above, although they reportedly edited out Tito's strongest attacks on Peking. On the same day, Indonesian CP chief Aidit, addressing a Communist rally of 10,000 in Djakarta, seemed to confirm the PKI's alignment with Peking as he denounced Tito and his brand of communism.

May 27 - NCNA reports that the North Korean Party paper Nodong Simun carried an editorial replying to the May 18 Tito speech along the Chinese line.

No. 4

14-27 mai 1963

7 et 12 mai - Les Albanais continuent leurs attaques contre Khrouchtchev et Tito avec des articles dans leur hebdomadaire culturel "Drita" le 7 mai et dans "Zeri i Populit" le 12 mai.

14 mai - Le PCUS a annoncé que la réunion plénière qui devait avoir lieu le 28 mai sera remise au 18 juin. L'annonce disait que la décision avait été prise le 3 mai, -- comme pour impliquer qu'il y a là un rapport avec la maladie de Kozlov qui a été annoncée le 4 mai. Le même jour, Pékin a annoncé qu'il acceptait la nouvelle proposition du PCUS que des entretiens bilatéraux aient lieu à Moscou à partir du 5 juillet.

15 mai - Le PCUS a annoncé les noms de ceux qui composent une délégation de hauts personnages sous la direction de Souslov pour les entretiens avec les Chinois qui vont commencer le 5 juillet. L'annonce disait que le PCUS avait tout d'abord proposé la date du 15 mai pour ces entretiens, que le PCC avait proposé de remettre jusqu'à la mi-juin et que le parti communiste de l'Union Soviétique avait répondu en proposant le 5 juillet "parce que juin est rempli d'événements prévus antérieurement, parmi lesquels il y en a qui sont de nature internationale." (On a pensé par la suite que l'événement "international" vraiment important devant avoir lieu en juin pourrait être la visite de Khrouchtchev en Yougoslavie: il a été question de cette visite comme étant sur le point de se faire dans un article du 16 mai par Boffa qui est le correspondant à Moscou du journal "L'Unità", et dans une émission de Radio Moscou en date du 20 mai adressée à la Yougoslavie en langue serbo-croate). Le même jour, "Pravda" publiait un discours de Thorez, le chef du PC français, adressé à une réunion plénière du PCF et dénonçant la "déviation vers la gauche" des Chinois communistes comme étant le principal danger menaçant le communisme international.

15-16 mai - L'homme d'Etat chinois, Liu Shao-chi a terminé la visite d'une semaine qu'il a faite au Nord Viet-nam en prononçant un discours nettement polémique à l'Institut Marxiste à Hanoi le 15 mai, et en obtenant le 16 qu'Ho Chi Minh signe un communiqué en commun donnant l'impression d'un appui vietnamien pour les vues chinoises. Dans ce communiqué rédigé en commun, qui n'allait pas aussi loin que beaucoup d'observateurs auraient cru, et qui était certainement loin de ce que Liu aurait voulu obtenir, le Vietnamien a évité de s'engager nettement du côté chinois et en est en somme resté à sa position précédente de "non-engagement". Mais la déclaration a donné l'impression d'appuyer les Chinois parce qu'elle a souligné plusieurs positions idéologiques qu'ils ont en commun et qui ne concordent pas avec la "ligne" soviétique, et aussi parce que Ho a fait l'éloge de la "construction socialiste" de la Chine tout en se gardant de mentionner d'autres questions sur lesquelles les vues de Ho se rapprochent davantage de celles des Soviêts. A l'école du parti, Liu a déclaré que le mouvement communiste international traversait en ce moment "une période critique de la plus grande importance" du fait d'une "lutte intense entre les marxistes-léninistes et les révisionnistes modernes"; lutte dont l'objet est de décider si les peuples du monde "doivent faire des révolutions ou non, et si les partis prolétaires doivent ou non diriger les peuples du monde dans ces révolutions." Il est du devoir de tous les marxistes-léninistes, a-t-il dit, "de ne pas se soustraire au défi porté par les révisionnistes modernes mais de s'unir pour écraser complètement leur attaque." Il a vivement incité tous les communistes à étudier les oeuvres de Staline -- comme celles de Marx, d'Engels et de Lénine. Le communiqué rédigé en commun prend acte du fait que les deux partis insistent sur le besoin d'unité en se basant sur les résolutions de Moscou de 1957 et

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de 1960, autrement dit l'opportunisme de droite, est le principal danger menaçant le mouvement communiste international... Il cherche constamment à... nier le besoin historique de la révolution prolétaire et de la dictature du prolétariat pendant la période de transition du capitalisme au socialisme et au communisme... La Yougoslavie est l'expression concentrée des 'théories' révisionnistes modernes... Il faut continuer à dénoncer la clique révisionniste yougoslave et ceci reste une tâche essentielle des partis marxistes-léninistes de tous les pays." Les deux partis ont aussi "réaffirmé la nécessité de convoquer une réunion des représentants des partis communistes et travaillistes du monde entier de façon à éliminer les différences et à affermir l'unité." "Il est nécessaire de se préparer convenablement à cette réunion," et c'est pourquoi les entretiens bilatéraux comme ceux qui doivent avoir lieu entre le PCUS et le PCC sont accueillis avec satisfaction. "Ho Chi Minh fait chaudement l'éloge des grands succès auxquels est arrivé le peuple chinois dans la construction du socialisme sous la direction du parti communiste chinois et de son président Mao Tsé-toung avec l'aide des trois bannières rouges pour montrer le chemin -- la ligne de conduite générale pour la construction du socialisme, le grand bond en avant, et les communes populaires."

18 mai - Prononçant un important discours devant une réunion plénière du comité central du parti yougoslave, Tito a exprimé la gratitude qu'il éprouve pour Khrouchtchev et ses associés parce qu'ils ont rendu possible l'amélioration des relations avec le PCUS (grâce aux décisions des XXe et XXIIe congrès du parti), puis il s'est lancé dans une dure attaque contre les Chinois qui "s'entêtent à conserver leurs positions dogmatiques vis-à-vis des relations au sein du mouvement communiste et du développement futur de ce mouvement." Faisant remarquer que "nous avons été accusés de révisionnisme" par les chefs chinois, Tito reconnaît que "nous ne nous considérons pas infaillibles, tout comme nous ne considérons pas un parti ou mouvement communiste infaillible, et surtout pas les chefs du PCC." Toutefois, "la pratique et les résultats obtenus sont la meilleure façon de juger de l'application correcte des théories de Marx, d'Engels et de Lénine", et "si nous considérons la pratique et les résultats obtenus par les communistes chinois dans leur développement intérieur, alors leurs erreurs ont les proportions de l'Himalaya par comparaison avec les nôtres." Remarquant que les Chinois soutiennent que l'économie yougoslave est dans un état de crise continue et profonde, provoquée par un retour au capitalisme, Tito dit "Je suis sûr qu'il ne leur déplairait pas de se trouver dans une crise comme la nôtre." Il exprime son opinion que l'accusation chinoise que la Yougoslavie retourne au capitalisme est faite surtout pour miner "le grand prestige que la Yougoslavie possède dans les pays de l'Asie et de l'Afrique". Il continue en accusant les Chinois de favoriser le développement "d'un nationalisme de la pire espèce" qui se voit par sa politique "d'opposer les peuples de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et de l'Amérique Latine contre les peuples de l'Europe et des pays développés." Il pointe aussi un doigt accusateur vers les Chinois parce qu'ils favorisent les conflits entre factions, et l'ingérence dans les affaires intérieures des autres partis et pays, en disséminant dans d'autres pays "divers genres de pamphlets ayant un contenu dogmatique, des brochures contenant des calomnies et des déformations de la vérité" contre d'autres partis et leurs chefs. Enfin, pour ce qui est de la politique étrangère, il accuse les Chinois de trotskysme pur et simple en affichant "une offensive permanente." D'autres participants à la réunion plénière se sont aussi attaqués aux Chinois, entre autres Dobrivoje Vidic qui a déclaré "qu'environ 400 articles anti-yougoslaves avaient été publiés dans la presse chinoise au cours des cinq derniers mois."

18-19 mai - Des journalistes venant du Basutoland, du Cameroun, de Ceylan, du Japon, du Pakistan, de l'Union Sud-Africaine et de Zanzibar, qui ont assisté à la conférence des journalistes afro-asiatiques à Djakarta du 24 au 30 avril, ont été reçus et

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rétés à Pékin pour la solidarité afro-asiatique dont le président, Liao Cheng-chih "a félicité les journalistes asiatiques et africains d'avoir formé une nouvelle organisation qui soit la leur en propre -- l'Association des Journalistes Afro-Asiatiques", d'après ce que dit l'Agence d'Informations de la Nouvelle Chine.

19 et 25 mai - Aux dires de l'Agence d'Informations de la Nouvelle Chine (AINC), le camarade V. G. Wilcox, secrétaire général du PC de la Nouvelle Zélande, est arrivé à Pékin répondant à l'invitation du comité central du PCC. Le 25 mai, AINC rapportait un communiqué rédigé en commun par le PCNZ et par le PCC dans lequel se trouvait l'affirmation que "se ranger du côté des révisionnistes yougoslaves était tout simplement trahir le marxisme-léninisme."

20 mai - Radio Belgrade a annoncé que le secrétariat des Affaires étrangères yougoslave avait remis au chargé d'affaires chinois une note protestant contre "l'attaque brutale et diffamatoire contre la Yougoslavie et sa politique étrangère, contenue dans la déclaration rédigée en commun par le président de la République Populaire Chinoise, Liu Chao-chi, et le président de la République Populaire du Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, publiée le 16 mai à Hanoi."

20 mai - L'AINC a annoncé que les numéros combinés 10 et 11 du "Drapeau Rouge" venaient juste d'être publiés contenant les sept derniers chapitres -- Nos. 13 à 19 compris -- et la conclusion de l'énorme série sur "La lutte de Lénine contre le révisionnisme et l'opportunisme." La conclusion dit que les efforts de Lénine qui se sont poursuivis pendant trente ans montrent que "bien que les révisionnistes et les opportunistes peuvent faire beaucoup de bruit pendant quelque temps, ils ne sont généralement qu'un contre-courant dans l'ensemble du mouvement communiste et un jour ou l'autre la marée révolutionnaire du marxisme-léninisme en aura raison."

23 mai - Parlant à un grand rassemblement au stade de Moscou à l'occasion d'une fête d'adieu officielle pour Castro, Khrouchtchev n'a fait que brièvement allusion aux différences avec les Chinois, lesquelles, a-t-il dit, sont le sujet d'un tas d'histoires fabriquées dans la presse bourgeoise; il a promis de faire "tout en son pouvoir pour que cette réunion (PCC-PCUS)... élimine les différences." Toutefois, il faisait évidemment allusion aux Chinois quand il a dit: "Il faut lutter résolument contre toute division des forces révolutionnaires, quel que soit le prétexte qui les divise. Une division hors des classes de la société par continent, couleur de la peau, ou tout autre fondement, signifie une division des forces de la classe ouvrière." La déclaration rédigée en commun par Khrouchtchev et Castro, signée le même jour, a fermement placé Cuba dans le camp soviétique.

26 mai - "Pravda" a imprimé toute une page d'extraits du discours que Tito a prononcé le 18 mai et dont il est question plus haut, mais il paraît qu'on a supprimé les attaques les plus violentes de Tito contre Pékin. Le même jour, Aidit, le chef du PC de l'Indonésie, s'adressant à un rassemblement communiste de 10.000 personnes à Djakarta, a donné l'impression de confirmer que le PC de l'Indonésie est du côté de Pékin par la façon dont il a dénoncé Tito et son genre de communisme.

27 mai - L'AINC rapporte que le journal du parti de la Corée du Nord, "Nodong Sinmun" contient un éditorial qui répond dans le sens chinois au discours prononcé par Tito le 18 mai.

No. 4

14-27 Mayo 1963

7 y 12 Mayo: Los albaneses continuaron sus ataques contra Krushev y Tito con artículos en su semanario cultural "Drita" el día 7 y en "Zeri i Popullit" el 12.

14 Mayo: El PCUS anunció que el pleno a celebrarse el 28 de mayo sería pospuesto hasta el 18 de junio. La noticia declaró que esto había sido resuelto el 3 de mayo -- como tratando de relacionarlo con la enfermedad de Kozlov, anunciada el 4 de mayo. El mismo día Pekín anunció su aceptación de una nueva propuesta del PCUS en el sentido de iniciar las conversaciones bilaterales en Moscú el 5 de julio.

15 Mayo: Moscú anunció los nombres de una delegación al más alto nivel, encabezada por Suslov, para las conversaciones con los chinos a comenzar el 5 de julio. El anuncio recordó que el PCUS había propuesto originalmente el 15 de mayo para las conversaciones, que el PC chino había sugerido una posposición hasta mediados de junio y que el PCUS entonces había propuesto la fecha de 5 de julio "porque junio está lleno de acontecimientos previamente programados, incluso algunos de naturaleza internacional." (Luego ha habido comentarios en el sentido de que el acontecimiento "internacional" de verdadera importancia en junio podría ser la visita de Krushev a Yugoslavia: que semejante visita ocurriría había sido declarado en un artículo de 16 de mayo escrito por Boffa, corresponsal en Moscú de "Unité" y en una transmisión de Radio Moscú en servocroata a Yugoslavia el 20 de mayo.) En la misma fecha "Pravda" publicó un discurso del líder del PC francés, Thorez, al pleno del Partido denunciando la "desviación de izquierda" de los comunistas chinos como el principal peligro para el comunismo internacional.

15-16 Mayo: El líder chino Liu Shao-chi coronó su semana de visita a Vietnam del Norte pronunciando un fuerte discurso polémico en el Instituto Marxista en Hanoi el 15 y consiguiendo la firma de Ho Chi Minh para una declaración conjunta el 16 que daba la impresión de apoyo vietnamés al punto de vista chino. En dicho documento, que no llegó al extremo que muchos observadores habían augurado y quedó seguramente muy a la zaga de lo que Liu hubiera sugerido, los vietnameses evitaron todo compromiso claro hacia el lado chino y realmente no cambiaron de su anterior "no alineamiento;" no obstante, dió la apariencia de apoyo subrayando cierto número de posiciones ideológicas comunes en conflicto con la línea soviética e incluyendo el saludo de Ho para la "construcción socialista" china mientras que omitía mencionar otras cuestiones en las cuales las opiniones de Ho están más de acuerdo con las soviéticas. En la escuela del Partido Liu declaró que el movimiento comunista internacional se halla ahora "en un crucial período de máxima importancia" a causa de una "aguda lucha entre los marxistas-leninistas y los revisionistas modernos" acerca de si los pueblos del mundo "deberán o no llevar a cabo revoluciones y si los partidos proletarios deberán o no dirigir a los pueblos del mundo en revoluciones." Declaró ser tarea de todos los marxistas-leninistas "no evadir el reto de los revisionistas modernos sino unirse para destrozr su ataque completamente" e instó a todos los comunistas a estudiar las obras de Stalin -- así como las de Marx, Engels y Lenin. La declaración conjunta declara oficialmente que ambos Partidos subrayan la unidad a base de las resoluciones de Moscú de 1957 y 1960, lo que significa que, "en las actuales circunstancias el revisionismo, o sea el oportunismo de derecha, es el principal peligro para el movimiento comunista internacional.... Busca persistentemente ... negar la necesidad histórica de la revolución proletaria y la dictadura del proletariado en el período de transición del capitalismo al socialismo y el comunismo.... Yugoslavia es la expresión concentrada de las modernas 'teorías' revisionistas.... La ulterior denuncia de la camarilla revisionista

yugoslavo sigue siendo tal y como esencial de los partidos marxistas-leninistas de todos los países." Ambos Partidos también "reafirman la necesidad de convocar una reunión de Partidos comunistas y obreros de todo el mundo para eliminar las divergencias y fortalecer la unidad," para la cual "es preciso hacer preparativos adecuados," incluyendo conversaciones bilaterales como las programadas entre el PCUS y el PC chino, las cuales se saludan con satisfacción. "Ho Chi Minh rinde cálido tributo a los grandes éxitos conseguidos por el pueblo chino en la construcción socialista bajo la dirección del PC chino y el líder Mao Tse-tung y guiado por las tres banderas rojas -- la línea general para la construcción socialista, el gran salto adelante y las comunas del pueblo."

18 Mayo: Tito, en un discurso programático principal ante un pleno del Comité central del PC yugoslavo, expresó su gratitud a Krushev y compañeros de este por hacer posibles mejores relaciones con el PCUS (a través de las resoluciones del XX y el XXII Congreso del Partido) y luego lanzó un violento ataque contra los chinos, que "persisten en sus posiciones dogmáticas en cuanto a las relaciones internas y el ulterior desarrollo del movimiento comunista." Tomando nota de que "hemos sido acusados de revisionismo" por los líderes chinos, Tito reconoció que "no nos creemos infalibles, los mismo que no consideramos infalible a un movimiento o Partido comunista, y mucho menos al liderato del PC chino." Sin embargo, "la práctica y los resultados son los mejores medidores de la correcta aplicación de las teorías de Marx, Engels y Lenin," y "si consideramos la práctica y los resultados conseguidos por los chinos comunistas en su desarrollo interno, entonces sus errores han sido tan grandes como las Himalayas en comparación a los nuestros." Tomando nota del argumento chino de que la economía yugoslava está en continua y profunda crisis a causa de un regreso al capitalismo, Tito declaró que "estoy seguro que a ellos les complacería sobremanera estar en una crisis semejante." Expresó su opinión de que la acusación china de regreso al capitalismo por parte de los yugoslavos la hacen solo para socavar "el gran presitigio de que goza Yugoslavia en los países de Asia y Africa," acusando luego a los chinos de desarrollar un "nacionalismo de la peor clase" que se refleja "en la política de poner a los pueblos de Asia, Africa y América Latina contra los pueblos de Europa y los países desarrollados." También apunta un índice acusador hacia los chinos por inducir la lucha faccionaria y la intromisión en los asuntos internos de otros partidos y países difundiendo en otros países "diversas clases de folletos de contenido dogmático, materiales que contienen calumnias y deformaciones de la verdad" contra otros partidos y sus líderes. Finalmente, en cuanto a política exterior, acusa a los chinos de trotskismo abierto por su consigna de "una ofensiva permanente." Otros que tomaron parte en el pleno atacaron también a los chinos, entre ellos Dobrivoje Vidic, quien declaró que "unos 400 artículos contra Yugoslavia han aparecido en la prensa china en los últimos cinco meses."

18-19 Mayo: Periodistas de Basutolandia, Camerún, Ceilán, Japón, Pakistán, Africa del Sur y Zanzibar que habían asistido a la Conferencia de periodistas afroasiáticos en Jakarta de 24 a 30 de abril fueron recibidos y festejados en Pekín por la Asociación de periodistas de toda China y el Comité chino de solidaridad afroasiática, cuyo presidente Liao Cheng-chih "felicitó a los periodistas asiáticos y africanos por la formación de una nueva organización propia, la Asociación afroasiática de periodistas," de acuerdo con la Agencia Nueva China (Sinjua).

19 y 25 Mayo: El camarada V. G. Wilcox, secretario general del PC de Nueva Zelandia, llegó a Pekín a invitación del Comité Central del PC chino, según información de Sinjua. El 25 de mayo dicha agencia informó sobre una declaración conjunta del PC de Nueva Zelandia y el PC chino que incluía el aserto de que "abanderarse con los revisionistas yugoslavos no es otra cosa que traición al marxismo-leninismo."

20 Mayo: ~~Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000200020002-7~~
Sinjua anunció que el secretario de asuntos exteriores yugoslavo había entregado al encargado chino una nota protestando "el brutal y calumnioso ataque sobre Yugoslavia y su política exterior contenido en la declaración conjunta del presidente del PC de China, Liu Shao-chi, y el Presidente de la República democrática vietnamesa, Ho Chi Minh, publicada en Hanoi el 16 de mayo."

20 Mayo: Sinjua anunció que el número combinado 10-11 de "Bandera Roja" acababa de salir, con los últimos siete capítulos -- 13 a 19 -- y la conclusión de la voluminosa serie sobre "La lucha de Lenin contra el revisionismo y el oportunismo." La conclusión declara que la lucha de Lenin de 30 años demuestra que "aunque los revisionistas y oportunistas puedan mantener un ruidoso clamoreo por algún tiempo, son generalmente solo una contracorriente en el movimiento comunista total y serán en definitiva superados por la marea revolucionaria del comunismo-leninismo."

23 Mayo: Hablando en un mitin en el Estadio de Moscú en la despedida oficial a Castro, Krushev se refirió solo brevemente a las divergencias con los chinos, que declaró ser el tema de fabricaciones en la prensa burguesa, y prometió "hacerlo todo porque dicha reunión (entre el PC chino y el PCUS) ... elimine las divergencias." No obstante, en alusión evidente a los chinos añadió: "Es preciso luchar resueltamente contra cualquier división de las fuerzas revolucionarias bajo cualquier pretexto. La división no por clase sino por continente, color de la tez o cualquier otra norma significa una división de las fuerzas de la clase obrera." La declaración conjunta de Krushev y Castro firmada el mismo día puso a Cuba firmemente en el campo soviético.

26 Mayo: "Pravda" publicó una página entera de extractos del discurso de Tito descrito más arriba, aunque se dice que recortando los ataques más fuertes contra Pekín. El mismo día, el jefe Aidit del PC indonesio, dirigiéndose a una manifestación comunista de 10,000 personas en Jakarta, aparentó confirmar la alineación del PC indonesio con Pekín al denunciar a Tito y su especie de comunismo.

27 Mayo: Informa Sinjua que "Nodong Sinmun," órgano del PC norcoreano, publicó un editorial replicando al discurso de Tito de 18 de mayo en términos de la línea china.

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664. The American Struggle for Negro Equality

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1. The US Government is committed to equal rights for all citizens. The major judicial step toward overcoming segregation of the races in the US was the Supreme Court decision of 1954 that "separate but equal" school facilities were "inherently unequal" and therefore unlawful under the constitution. The following year the Court ruled "federal, state or local laws...requiring or permitting such discrimination must give way" and that the states must begin a "prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" with the 1954 ruling. In a precedent-setting decision on discriminatory practice by private establishments, the Supreme Court ruled on May 21, 1963, that the Negro's effort to obtain equal service at stores, restaurants, and theatres could not be prevented by unconstitutional segregation laws.

Complementing judicial rulings on the constitutional questions, the Executive Branch of the government under the President has outlawed discrimination in fields within its jurisdiction by promulgating the Fair Employment Practices Act, Fair Education Practices Act, Fair Housing Law and by abolishing segregation in the Armed Forces.

The US Government moved troops into Oxford, Mississippi, in October 1962 to assist a Negro student's court-ordered entry into the University in the face of threatened violence. President Keita of Mali recognized the import of the US Government's determination to protect the right of one of its Negro citizens when he telegraphed congratulations to President Kennedy for his decisive action.

The Justice Department is making increasing use of lawsuits on behalf of persons denied voting registration or entry to desegregated school facilities. An aggressive Presidential Committee on Equal Opportunity is pressing government contractors to hire Negroes; government representatives are acting as mediators at the scene of racial differences, persuading fair minded citizens to take the lead in settling their differences, pressuring segregationist officials to uphold the laws of the land.

In addition to the exercise of official powers, the President and other government officials are using the prestige of their high offices to give strong personal leadership to individuals, groups and civic leaders in the drive to establish equal opportunity in all areas of civil life, e.g. education, employment, voting.

The African Foreign Ministers Conference meeting in Addis Ababa recognized the US Government's determination to protect the

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(664. Continued)

rights of its minority citizens. On May 21st they agreed to recommend to the Heads of State that the Conference ... "expresses its satisfaction with the attempt of the Federal Government of the US to end these intolerable practices which might harm the relations of the Governments and peoples of Africa and the Government and people of the US of America."

2. Increasing Progress is being made toward civil rights. Dramatic gains have been made in the key fields in the past twenty years. Voting. Negroes in all Southern states have been registering faster than whites where, one generation ago, virtually no Negroes voted. The growing Negro vote will help defeat the segregationist whose traditional resistance to change must be overcome. Median income of the Negro has increased sixfold in the past twenty years as contrasted with a fourfold increase for whites. Between 1959 and 1960 the Census Bureau shows a rise in Negro income of 13 per cent and white of 3 per cent. The rate of unemployment among Negroes, however, is 8.7 per cent of the Negro work force as against 4.7 of the white. Transportation segregation has virtually disappeared in all but a very few southern towns. Public accommodations in urban areas are increasingly desegregated. Statutes specifically forbidding discrimination now exist in 28 states and the District of Columbia. Discrimination in housing has shown little improvement and is usually due to economic rather than either legal or social factors. Lynching, often used abroad to present a distorted picture of the Negro in America, has virtually disappeared. Statistics show seven lynchings in the past ten years as against 105 in 1901 or 161 in 1892.

Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish economist, reform leader and Senator, told a commencement class at the predominantly Negro Howard University, in Washington D.C., June 1962: "...in historical perspective the rapidity of progress is astonishing. Let us remember that practically all of this progress has taken place in the short period of the last twenty years." Citing the growing affluence of society and the reality of American constitutional ideals as factors in his appraisal he said "...the trend moves steeply upward. In this new epoch, the Negro cause is a winning one." Myrdal's 1942 book An American Dilemma, the Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (Myrdal, Sterner and Rose; 20th Anniversary Edition 1962; N.Y.; Harper and Row; \$16.50) foresaw big changes in the status of the Negro.

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BACKGROUND:

Relations with China. Because of geographic position and historic precedent, the Vietnamese have always been keenly aware of the threat from their powerful and demanding Chinese neighbor, and having successfully maintained their own national identity during a thousand years of Chinese occupation and domination, the Vietnamese have had a wealth of experience in resisting Chinese incursions. Traditionally, Vietnamese policy has been to pay public obeisance to Chinese suzerainty (token tribute: allowing the Chinese to invest Vietnamese emperors with office when they succeeded to the throne, etc.) while zealously protecting their right to govern themselves. Thus, historically, there is a pattern of formal acceptance of Chinese interest in Vietnam affairs and at the same time of resistance to attempts by the Chinese to interfere in the actual governing of the country. Generally speaking, the attitude of most Vietnamese toward China, engendered by this perennial relationship of a weaker to a stronger power, is one of latent fear and active dislike. Vietnamese children have been raised on stories of Chinese rapaciousness and cruelty, and the occupation of North Vietnam by Chinese national forces in 1945 and 1946, which looted and raped and plundered, only served to confirm the age-old hatred and apprehension. It is unlikely that allegiance to a common Marxist doctrine could modify in a few years an attitude that is the product of centuries.

There is no denying, however, the importance to the North Vietnamese Communist leaders -- particularly in their war with the French -- of the Communist takeover in China. From 1949 to the end of the war with the French, Ho Chi Minh was the recipient of extensive Chinese military, economic and technical aid which was an important contribution to Ho's ultimate victory at Dien Bien Phu. More important even, in the long run, than the concrete military and economic aid from Mao, was the fact that the revolutionary situation in which Ho Chi Minh and his men had to operate had basic similarities with that of China; therefore, the North Vietnamese Communists were in a position to profit, in their own microcosm, from the vastness and variety of Chinese Communist experience. Obviously, the theory of a peasant revolution operating from rural bases and using the tactics of a broad united front against a better equipped and numerically superior enemy is an application of Marxism-Leninism which bears much more directly on the situation in Vietnam than that of the classic three-stage proletarian-based revolution. Moreover, despite the tactical zigs and zags, the over-all strategy of the Chinese Communists, with its emphasis on militancy and aggressive action, fitted in much

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better with Vietnamese recent experience with the French and with their aspirations for taking over South Vietnam than the gradualism being advocated by the USSR.

While the establishment of a Soviet Embassy in Hanoi in November 1954 provided the North Vietnamese leaders with an opportunity to counterbalance Chinese influence, not only their interpretation of Marxist-Leninist theory and its specific application, but the very organization of the Vietnamese party itself and its military and mass organs all bear a basic resemblance to their Chinese counterparts.

Relations with the Soviet Union. Throughout the war of liberation from French rule, the leaders of the Viet Minh had pledged themselves to fight until all of Vietnam were liberated and united. Russian pressure obliged the Vietnamese Communists to sign the Geneva Agreements of 1954. This act, because it patently consented to the division of the country and stopped short of their promises of continuing the struggle until the entire country was reunited, placed the DRV leaders in an embarrassing position. Their loss of face was intensified when they failed to persuade the Diem government to hold national elections as specified in the Geneva Agreements. Thus, Khrushchev's strategy of "peaceful co-existence" -- with its corollary of a temporary status quo in Southeast Asia -- which corresponded to Soviet strategical needs in 1954, was clearly a liability to North Vietnam. Pressure from the Soviets to follow a soft tactical line with continued emphasis on united front tactics was also a handicap to the party domestically in applying stringent Communist measures to rebuild the economy.

When, more than a year after the Geneva Conference, it became apparent that the new Diem government would not agree to the holding of nation-wide elections, the Party decided to press forward on the domestic front with a program of vigorous socialization. Seeking aid at this time for reconstruction of the North Vietnamese economy, Ho received three times more from Peking than from Moscow. The ruthless agrarian reform policy which Hanoi adopted in 1956 was clearly modelled on the Chinese pattern.

Much of Khrushchev's new program as enunciated at the 20th CPSU Congress was anathema to Ho and the Vietnamese leadership since it was patently unsuited to the situation the Vietnamese Communists faced. For example, the Lao Dong Party resolution, commenting with evident distaste on Khrushchev's theory of the non-inevitability of war, stressed instead the need for "struggle" and "vigilance." And, at various times, Soviet de-Stalinization was publicly blamed for the pessimism and skepticism which had infected the Party. In January 1957, the Soviets actually proposed that both North and South Vietnam be admitted to the United Nations as separate states, thus placing the stamp of approval on the territorial division. Following the failure (from Ho's point of view)

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of the Geneva Agreement, the unpalatable course which Khrushchev set at the 20th CPSU Congress, and the disastrous consequences of the forced Chicom-style collectivization program, the North Vietnamese Communists began to emphasize the importance to the Vietnamese people of finding their own path: "our party has already achieved considerable results in the way of creative application of Marxism-Leninism to conditions in Vietnam." By late 1959, in place of the previous praises for the Chinese model and "ideology of Mao Tse-tung," Hanoi began ascribing all its revolutionary victories to Lenin and Ho Chi Minh, Lenin's "most outstanding disciple" who had "creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Vietnam." By 1960 there were indications that the North Vietnamese leaders were beginning to look to the Soviet Union for guidance in economic development programs. The extension of sizeable economic credits by both Moscow and Peking in the winter of 1960-1961 testified to the effectiveness of North Vietnam's effort to steer a middle course in domestic policy through the crisis in Sino-Soviet relations. Ho Chi Minh has made several efforts to act as mediator in the Sino-Soviet dispute and to effect a reconciliation between Moscow and Peking.

Ho Chi Minh. The ability of North Vietnam to play off one of its powerful benefactors against the other and to develop its own indigenous forms of Marxism-Leninism depends by and large on the ability of an ascetic but benevolent looking heptagenarian who for many years has been the dominant Communist personality not only in Vietnam but in Laos, Cambodia and -- at one time -- in all Southeast Asia. If indeed a way exists to maintain such a balance, Ho Chi Minh will probably find it.

Since 1911 when he left Indochina as a cabin boy on a French tramp steamer, Ho has struggled with singleminded ruthlessness and with considerable ability for the "liberation" of Southeast Asia and for the establishment of "socialism." Between 1911 and 1925, Ho travelled in Europe and Russia, was a founding member of the French Communist Party (1920), and became the leading Communist expert in Southeast Asia. From Paris and Moscow he organized, trained and directed his compatriots in the art of resistance. In 1925, he returned to his homeland as Comintern representative for Southeast Asia and during the next 10 years helped to found the majority of Communist parties in that part of the world. In 1940 he emerged as the unchallenged leader of Vietnamese communism and subsequently of the resistance against the Japanese occupation. During this period, Ho's unrivalled ability for political intrigue enabled him again and again to out-manuever his opponents. Thus, in 1945, when the French were seeking to re-impose control over their former colonial appendage, they found themselves facing the most sophisticated, experienced and able Communist in Southeast Asia, who, paradoxically, enjoyed both the reputation of a leader of high standing in international communism and, at home, the popularity and esteem of a great patriot. Today, after almost

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10 years of Communist government in North Vietnam and despite the failure of many of his programs, Ho remains the best known and most popular leader in Vietnam, the final proof of his political acumen.

Summary. While the Sino-Soviet dispute and competition for Vietnamese allegiance is certainly a challenge even to Ho's skill at manipulation, it has had important advantages for the Vietnamese Communists in that (a) it has permitted Ho to exact aid on a larger scale than would have been possible otherwise (as of mid 1962 the USSR had extended 365 million dollars worth and China 477 million) and (b) most important, it has allowed North Vietnam to use Russia as a counterweight to Chinese domination and to avoid loss of national independence.

While its relations with China and the USSR have had many vicissitudes, North Vietnam has managed to avoid becoming the satellite of either and is currently using the Sino-Soviet dispute to maintain its independence from both and to further assert its own brand of communism.

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666 WH, g. Jagan's Offer: A Castro-type or a Peaceful Revolution
for British Guiana

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BACKGROUND: British Guiana, a small country of some 80,000 square miles with a population of around 600,000 situated on the northeast coast of South America, is in a desperately chaotic condition after close to two years of domestic control by Premier Cheddi Jagan's government. The immediate crisis has been a serious food shortage and Jagan's use of strike breakers to end a month old strike. The strike was the Trade Union Council's (TUC) answer to Jagan's attempt to gain control of the labor movement through April legislative proposals giving the government the right to determine which unions should be recognized by employers for collective bargaining. The widespread strike, supported by unions all over the world through blacklisting ships bound for British Guiana, has been carried out without serious violence and with maintenance of essential public utilities.

This strike came on the heels of other demonstrations led by opposition parties against the government's economic maladministration, reflected, for example, in: increasing unemployment which is now about 20 percent; decreasing tax revenues; decreasing business activity (merchants are loath to re-establish business disrupted a year ago in Georgetown or to establish new ones in cities subject to civil disturbances -- chambers of commerce in several cities are backing the strike against the government); and foreign investment has come almost to a halt as a result of the unstable political situation.

The strike was the second time that Jagan has aroused the people to strong open resistance. In February 1962 his budget proposals, including forced savings (a Communist practice), were met with riots in Georgetown from which the capital has not recovered and which reverberated through the economic life of the country.

Political Parties. Jagan's Communist-dominated People's Progressive Party (PPP), supported mainly by the East Indian rural population (rice farmers and sugar workers form the backbone), won 20 seats (with approximately 42% of the popular vote) in the February 1962 elections to form the government with which the British were expected to negotiate full independence by 1963. The People's National Congress (PNC), led by L. Forbes Burnham and drawing its support almost wholly from the urban Negro community (slightly smaller than the East Indian which accounts for almost half of the population) won eleven seats with approximately 41% of the popular vote. While less radical and pro-Bloc than the PPP, it favors a leftist policy and nonalignment in foreign affairs. Four seats were won by the multi-racial United Force Party (UF) with 16% of the popular vote, based on the small commercial class including the Portuguese minority. This party fears Jagan's Communist orientation.

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~~Conflicting Forces.~~ Jagan's inept administration and increasing Communist domination are causing discontent within the PPP and among its East Indian supporters. Opposition exists but is badly disorganized and weak against the well controlled party machine. Speaker of the legislative assembly Rahman Gajraj, elected by the PPP apparently because he could influence the Muslim vote, now says that Islam and communism are incompatible. A visit to Berlin and the Wall is reported to be the reason for his change of mind about the PPP leadership. He has spoken out against the administration's labor bill, for which The Mirror took him to task. Attorney-General Ramsahoye, while discontented, was reported late last year to be reluctant to resign this post and his legislative seat lest this action bring down the government.

The PPP and PNC have been unwilling to compromise the differences which resulted in the failure of the London conference on independence in October-November 1962 (which should have provided for the transfer of British control over external affairs and defense with the drafting of a new constitution and the setting of a date for full independence). The PNC wants elections to be held before independence on the basis of the proportional representation, giving it an opportunity to gain a majority in the Congress. (The PPP won 20 seats against the PNC's 11 by gaining a mere 1.7% margin of the popular vote. The PPP now has only 18 seats since Balram Singh Rai was expelled from the party and the election of one other delegate was invalidated. The opposition now controls 16 seats, the original 11 PNC and 4 UF with Rai now voting against the PPP.) Jagan refuses to consider either proposal, demanding instead that the British grant immediate independence to his government. PNC leader Forbes Burnham has turned down a recent Jagan proposal for a coalition government with the PPP.

Jagan's inefficiency and inability to run the government, and his willingness to sacrifice good labor practice for the sake of dictatorial control, have led to some doubts among his East Indian supporters. But they have no alternative East Indian leader, and they will not vote for the PNC, that is, for a Negro.

The multi-racial UF is in a difficult position with the uncertainty of racial tensions. It supports the TUC demands and could conceivably wield the balance in future Assembly voting.

Jagan's Machine. Although Jagan's Communist orientation was early recognized, the chairman of the British committee in London, investigating the Georgetown riots of February, was probably among the first to make a decisive statement when he said that Jagan's testimony established him as a Communist "beyond peradventure" (i.e. doubt), Jagan's own statements have clarified his political position. For example, on April 26th of this year, in a speech delivered for him by his wife to the Winnipeg Press Club, he said:

"Will socialists like me be allowed to bring about the millennium by peaceful means? Or is Fidel Castro's way of armed struggle the only way out?"

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His radical, dictatorial position was further established when, according to an official TUC release on May 20th he is reported to have said to union delegates, at a meeting which he requested:

"Gentlemen, I can assure you that if this government is overthrown the supporters of the government will not take it sitting down. There will be a war and a blood bath. There will be a second Congo here."

Jagan has increasingly staffed his party and government with Communists, concomitantly developing other Communist ties and policies. It is believed that his wife, radical, longtime Communist activist Janet Jagan, has been the strong element in bungling, inept Cheddi's move into Communist ranks. Among the increasingly obvious Communist steps taken by Jagan and his PPP party machine are the following:

1) PPP's official political paper Thunder follows the Communist line. The Mirror, commercial counterpart to Thunder, is controlled through the New Guiana Company, Ltd. by Minister of Finance Charles Jacob, Jr. with several deputy directors who are active or office holding PPP members. One recent article, illustrative of the "socialist" line of the paper, was "I Can Be a Christian and a Communist at the Same Time."

2) Janet Jagan, editor of Thunder, is a recognized government spokesman and considered to be the party's main tactician. She has made goodwill trips to Communist countries, e.g. East Germany and most recently the China Mainland where she was greeted by Mao, as well as to the USSR. It is believed that British Guiana would recognize the CPR if Jagan should control a fully independent government.

3) Jagan openly rigged the April 1962 PPP congress which ousted the only anti-Communist member of the Executive Council, Balram Singh Rai (which shook the faith of some East Indian peasants). In June 1962 Rai was also removed as Minister for Home Affairs and expelled from the PPP. In his place Claude Christian was appointed. As a youth leader Christian, identified as at least a Communist sympathizer, was active in sending students to Cuba and the Soviet Bloc. His new position gives him control, among other things, over the police.

4) Although Jagan's government is seeking trade and aid wherever it can be found, it is probably of significance that: capital equipment has been obtained from East Berlin -- Minister for Commerce and Trade Hubbard made a trip to East Germany; the Minister of Agriculture, Brindley Benn, is increasingly attacking the UK and the US; trade ties and other contacts with Cuba and Soviet Bloc countries are increasing; requests to the United Nations for technical advisers have

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specified that they be from Communist Bloc countries or from countries whose governments are known for their leftist views.

5) Students are being sent in increasing numbers to Communist countries -- there are now approximately 60 in the USSR and the Bloc and 40 in Cuba.

6) Measures to strengthen the party along Communist cell lines are being introduced, including Communist-supervised courses for organizers, and training of youth groups as security guards. General indoctrination courses are offered under the title Socialist Political Education, and a government socialist university is scheduled to open this fall.

7) Jagan (and mainly his wife) has recruited a number of foreign Communists and Communist sympathizers to assist him. From Trinidad, Jack Kelshall, reported to be a Communist, is the government's adviser for public relations and Jagan's personal secretary. WPC member Dr. Gyandhand (Indian) is on the government's planning commission. Several members of the CP of Great Britain have been imported to run PPP training courses, publications, and so forth. Minister of Labor, Housing and Health, Ranji Chandisingh, was born in Trinidad, became a member of the CP in Great Britain, and was brought to British Guiana by Janet to edit Thunder some five years ago.

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BACKGROUND: Sponsored by the Indonesian Government, with President Sukarno as patron, the first Afro-Asian Journalist Conference (AAJC) opened in Djakarta on 24 April and closed in Bandung on 30 April. The Conference was preceded by an AAJC Preparatory Committee meeting held in Djakarta from 5 to 10 February 1963. The AAJC endeavor stemmed from a meeting of the international Communist front International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) in Budapest in 1962, where 28 Afro-Asian countries agreed that Afro-Asian journalists should hold a meeting in Bandung.

While the AAJC was ostensibly to be a meeting of professional journalists from Afro-Asian countries to discuss professional questions, there were, not surprisingly, early indications that the Conference was to be a substitute and helpful precursor of a second Asian-African Bandung Conference of Heads of State, and that with Communist and pro-Communist groups having contributed their efforts toward organizing the Conference, they would utilize it as a propaganda platform against "imperialism" and "colonialism," for "national liberation," and give it a general anti-Western atmosphere. It was also presumed that the Conference would permit the IOJ to gain additional influence in the ranks of Afro-Asian journalists; and it would show a great resemblance to the third Afro-Asian Solidarity (AAPSO) Conference held in Moshi, Tanganyika, 4-11 February 1963 (see Bi-Weekly Propaganda Guidance #110, item 628, dated 25 February 1963), in the general tenor of its resolutions and public statements with its pro-Communist orientation expected to be even more marked.

The Conference followed its predicted course, with the exceptions that: it provided more of a display of the Sino-Soviet rift than anticipated; the Soviet-dominated IOJ "parent organization" found itself outmaneuvered and weakened, if indeed not split, with the establishment of an Afro-Asian Journalist Association (AAJA) and an Afro-Asian Press Bureau, both to be headquartered in Djakarta; and the Indonesian sponsors, with apparent governmental consent, did the Chinese bidding in this Chicom-led, Chicom-oriented Conference which exceeded any previous Afro-Asian conference in its anti-US, anti-Western militancy.

The Conference was attended by representatives from some 40 Asian and African countries, and "observers" from the Soviet Union, other countries including Cuba, the All-Africa Journalist Association, and the IOJ.

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Communist Delegations Stack the Conference. The Preparatory Committee's lists of delegates and issued invitations indicated that only old hands at the business of stage-managed, Communist-controlled international conferences were to attend. For example, the Indonesian government paid the way of a South Vietnamese delegate to Djakarta, but his seating was refused and instead a Communist Viet Cong "liberation front" delegation was acknowledged as the legitimate representation of South Vietnam, in addition to the delegation of North Vietnam. The North Korean delegation represented North and South Korea; the invitation to the South Korean delegation "did not arrive." The Secretary General of the National Press Club of Japan sent a telegram to President Sukarno stating that the Japanese delegation to the Conference was "thoroughly dominated by people committed to the support of the Communist bloc," that the Japanese delegation represented only a small section of the Japanese press, and that the selection of its members was politically inspired. (The telegram also stated that the Conference could facilitate Communist penetration of public information media throughout the Afro-Asian area.) The delegate from Cameroun was an African student from Peking. Some countries were doubly represented: there were, for instance, two delegations from Jordan, which promptly started quarrelling among themselves, etc. There was no provision for a credentials committee. When the issue was raised on the first day, it was brushed aside by the Indonesian Chairman (Djawoto, chief editor of the Indonesian Government's news agency ANTARA and chairman of the Indonesian Journalist Association) on the ground that the selection of delegates had been on the basis of "independent research."

Methods of Control. Such maneuvers became more explicit as the Conference proceeded. A panel of 20 names to constitute the conference presidium¹ was submitted by the Indonesian delegation and accepted by Djawoto without discussion. Malaya, India, Mongolia and the Philippines objected to this "very undemocratic" nomination procedure in place of election as provided in the Conference rules, but they were overruled.

The main controversy, however, arose over Mongolia's motion to accord membership to the Soviet Union, represented at the Conference by 10 delegates. (The Preparatory Meeting had assigned "observer" status to the Soviet delegation with the final status to be resolved at the main conference.) Eight countries backed the Mongolian motion, arguing in the main that a large part of Soviet territory and population belonged to Asia. There were immediate protests, obviously pre-arranged. After some time it was

¹The presidium consisted of Indonesia, the CPR, Ceylon, North Borneo (independence movement), Syria, the UAR, Angola, North Korea, South Africa (in exile), Tanganyika, Mali, Japan, Pakistan, Niger, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Rhodesia, Kuwait, and South Vietnam (National Liberation Front).

announced from the chair that with due regard to the "consensus" the USSR could only participate in observer status. (As it turned out, the "consensus" was a formula used as a stick to beat down anything that the Chicoms and their supporters did not like.) The chief of the Soviet delegation termed this decision of the Conference "undemocratic" and "incomprehensible" but also said: "We will always be with you in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism...."

The IOJ Loses Influence: Creation of the AAJA. In accordance with plans of the Preparatory Meeting, the Conference decided to create an Afro-Asian Journalist Association (AAJA) whose constitution says that "inspired by the Bandung spirit, the journalists from 48 countries of Asia and Africa decided upon the formation of their own association," and that the headquarters as well as a press bureau of the AAJA will be located in Djakarta. The AAJA did not admit the Soviets, neither did it announce an affiliation with the IOJ. The Mongolian delegation issued a statement of reservation (FBIS Daily, Indonesia, 3 May) in which it is stated inter alia: "It is quite clear that without the participation of the USSR journalists' organization, without widening the scope and cooperation with other progressive journalists' organizations, as for instance the IOJ (International Organization of Journalists) in which a number of journalists organizations from Asia and Africa are also participating, the Afro-Asian Journalist Association will not fully serve the cause of the strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the progressive and democratic journalistic forces from Asia and Africa as well as from the whole world."

Whether the establishment of the AAJA represents an outright split of the IOJ remains to be seen; it may still announce an affiliation, however loose, with the IOJ and function quasi-independently in the Afro-Asian area. There can be no question, however, that the Soviet-influenced IOJ has suffered a great loss of prestige and has been weakened. If the Chicom hand had not been shown so strongly in the Conference as a whole as well as in the forming of the AAJA, one could accept the appearance of the latter as still another indication of the growing emphasis on regional structures and activities within international Communist fronts -- an operational concept which began to develop when the world-wide fronts were becoming too compromised. The status of the AAJA vis-a-vis the IOJ would seem to depend largely on general developments in the next few months in the relations between the Soviets and the Chicoms. Not only will it be important to observe whether the AAJA gains stature and momentum, but also whether national affiliations with it will be accompanied by severance of ties with the IOJ. According to available reports only the Indian delegation failed to sign the "Djakarta Declaration" under which the AAJA was established; Malaya and the Philippines, which initially were most unwilling to sign, at the last minute found themselves stampeded into doing so.

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The constitution of the AAJA says that, inspired by the Bandung spirit, Afro-Asian journalists pursue the objective of establishing the closest of cooperation among themselves, the peoples and the respective governments, and strengthening their solidarity in the struggle for national independence against colonialism and imperialism in all its forms and manifestations, and for world peace, justice, freedom, and equality.

Resolutions. Amidst thunderous applause the meeting adopted some 30 resolutions which demonstrated a most militant spirit. Most of the resolutions were directed against imperialism and colonialism, with emphasis on the condemnation of US imperialism for its purported acts of aggression against and intervention and enslavement of Asian and African (and Latin American) countries.

To note a few examples:

Peace Corps. A resolution condemning imperialist and neo-colonialist activities noted with utmost regret the dispatch of US intelligence agents to Africa and Asia in the guise of the Peace Corps.

Laos. The resolution on the Laotian situation states: "The Conference resolutely condemns the imperialist intervention in Laos' internal affairs and disruption of Laotian peace, neutrality, and independence; the Conference energetically condemns US imperialism for assassinating Quinim Pholsena and other Laotian patriots; the Conference condemns US imperialism for its direct supplies of arms and aircraft to suppress the Laotian people and for launching attacks on the troops of the neutralist group and patriots.

"The Conference resolutely demands that the US stop immediately its aggression against the intervention in Laos and withdraw all its troops, military personnel, and arms. It resolutely demands that the US strictly observe the Geneva agreements and respect Laotian peace, neutrality and independence..."

Korea. The resolution on Korea says: "The Afro-Asian journalists conference holds that the occupation of South Korea by the US imperialists and their policy of aggression are the great obstacles to the peaceful unification of Korea and the cause of all the sufferings and misfortunes of the journalists and the people in South Korea and strongly demands the prompt withdrawal of the US imperialist aggressive army from South Korea..."

South Vietnam. The resolution on the situation in South Vietnam condemns the aggressive war, the policy of strategic hamlets of the US imperialists in South Vietnam, and particularly the use of noxious chemicals as a means of war, destroying crops and animals, poisoning the health of the South Vietnamese people, in an attempt

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to exterminate the patriotic forces which are struggling for national independence and peace in South Vietnam. This aggressive war, considered as "experimental war" by the US imperialists, severely threatens peace and national independence of the Afro-Asian peoples.

Cuba. The resolution on Cuba condemns the continued activities perpetrated against the Cuban people by the US imperialists. It considers the five demands put forward by the Cuban Revolutionary Government as the just and minimum demands for the guarantee of peace in Cuba and the Caribbean. It fully supports these five demands of the Cuban Revolutionary Government and the heroic Cuban people and calls upon all Afro-Asian journalists and people as well as all progressive mankind to do likewise. The Conference further assured the valiant Cuban people and revolutionary government of its relentless and unreserved support and solidarity in their struggle against Yankee imperialism and the forces of reaction.

Taiwan. The resolution on Taiwan "condemns the US imperialist occupation of Taiwan, the territory of the CPR." It condemns the US imperialists for creating tension in the Taiwan Strait and menacing peace in Asia and the world, and firmly demands that the US imperialists and their armed forces immediately withdraw from the Taiwan Strait.

(North Borneo)

Similar resolutions deal with North Kalimantan; Angola; South Africa; Southwest Africa; the high commission territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland; Rhodesia and Nyasaland; Zanzibar; Portuguese Guinea, etc.

Military Pacts. The resolution condemning military pacts "calls upon Asian-African peoples to double their efforts and unite their forces by all means in the struggle for the liquidation of all military pacts and bases on the Asian-African continents, to call upon the governments concerned to discontinue any negotiation with the imperialist countries toward the formation of an aggressive military alliance."

The resolution on ending of colonialism urges the governments of the countries of Asia and Africa to set up soon an Asian-African commission to look into individual cases of colonial or imperialist occupation still continuing in the region and to take effective steps for their early liquidation.

Israel. A resolution on Israel condemns "the role played by Israel as an agent of world imperialism, condemns the military and nuclear aid, given by the USA to Israel, and supports the rights of the Arab Palestine refugees to regain their country which was grabbed by imperialism to create the artificial state of Israel."

Bandung Conference. The resolution on the second Bandung conference stresses the need of further strengthening the solidarity and cooperation of the Asian-African governments, the objective

of speeding up the complete liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism on both continents, and expresses full support for the efforts to convene the second Bandung conference at the earliest possible date. The conference appeals to all Asian-African journalists to urge their respective governments to take positive steps for the convening of this conference of Afro-Asian governments.

A-A Conferences. A resolution supports the holding of the third Asian-African writers conference in Indonesia in 1963, the holding of an Asian-African film festival next year, and the idea of convening a conference of trade unions of Africa and Asia in accordance with the Bandung spirit.

Ganefo. The resolution on Ganefo (Games of the New Emerging Forces) "welcomes and supports the idea initiated by Indonesia to convene the games of the new emerging forces, in which sportsmen and sportswomen of the progressive countries of Africa, Asian, and Latin America and the socialist countries would take part."

Three Continent Journalists Conference. The Conference also called for the holding of an Asian-African-Latin American Journalists Conference in Cuba.

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Negro Problem: Evasions and Solution

Those who call for an immediate end to racial discrimination in the United States and for full equality for the Negro strike a responsive chord in many breasts. What they do not say, however, is that in making this demand, they are asking for something more than the issuance of laws and the use of state powers -- they are asking for a change in human attitudes. Liberal Americans believe that this change can be accomplished, but there are no successful precedents to follow, and if the change is made with nothing worse than the Birmingham riots, Americans may count themselves fortunate.

In other areas of the world it has been possible to solve racial or other minority problems by other means. One favorite solution is the expulsion of the minority group; this has been applied in India (the Moslems), and Algeria and Kenya (the settlers). But even in these cases the solution was only accomplished after serious bloodshed. Another solution is secession, as applied by the former African and Asian non-settlement colonies of European empires, or by Ireland, Iceland, Norway or Cyprus. This method is good where applicable, but like the expulsion solution, is hardly practical for the United States. One element in the American Black Muslim program is said to be the establishment of a black nation within the American South, but most Negroes recognize that such a ghetto arrangement would be economically disastrous. One could almost say that these procedures are not solutions to racial and minority problems, but rather evasions of them. Such solutions are accomplished, not by reconciling the races, but by separating them. Those who are in the fortunate position of being able painlessly to apply the separation technique should hesitate a moment before criticizing those who are unable to apply it, or who could only apply it by imposing gross hardships.

The closest parallel to the American problem is that existing in South Africa. Here the separation technique (Apartheid) is being applied internally, and it is in fact imposing hardships. Americans have largely come to recognize that internal separation is dangerous and unjust, and they are moving away from separation or segregation, as it is called in the United States. Any other procedure would create explosive conditions (as indeed is happening in South Africa), and would not serve the long-term interests of either race. But the reconciliation of races requires a high degree of maturity on both sides, and it is scarcely surprising that some individuals fail to rise to this standard.

It is worth remembering that attitudes on such matters as race are largely acquired in early childhood, and that those who acquire these attitudes may live on for three-quarters of a century. There are men now in leading positions in the South who can remember when lynchings were frequent occurrences, (161 negro lynchings in 1892), and when the Ku Klux Klan was a real, and not just imaginary, power. Southern whites are justly proud of the military record of the Confederacy, and it is easy for them to look back with nostalgia to the "Old South," forgetting the harshness and exploitation that supported the plantation system. No one readily admits that he and his forefathers have been wrong all their lives. White Southerners have, by and large, changed in their attitudes tremendously in the last forty years; they cannot be compared with, say, the rigid colons of French Algeria. But a few have not changed and more are afraid, and hence the course of gradual progress is occasionally punctuated with Little Rocks and Birminghams.

Some say that if there is resistance to desegregation, so much the worse for it: it must be destroyed. It is to be suspected that many of those who take this view have their own ends to serve, which are not those of racial equality but those of gaining political power. At any rate, we would note that a radical solution was in fact attempted once in the United States. After the Civil War, Negroes voted freely and were elected to state offices and to Congress. In South Carolina, Negroes at one time outnumbered whites in the state legislature. This was possible because Federal troops occupied the South and protected the Negroes. But the whites were not mentally prepared to recognize the Negroes as equals. The

Ku Klux Klan sprang up to intimidate the Negroes, and after Federal troops were withdrawn in 1877, the Negro gradually returned to a position little better than slavery, reaching his nadir in the 1890s.

The point is that there are no easy solutions to questions like the racial problem in the United States. If a solution is advanced which looks easy, it is only a pseudo-solution. Americans are making slow but real progress toward a real solution to this problem. We do not know of any other country which, faced by a similar problem, can say as much.

Revolution in an Open Society

By Reinhold Niebuhr

The Negro revolution, which is daily gathering force and undoubtedly will gather more force before it reaches its objectives and finally spends itself in fulfillment, is an interesting historical phenomenon. It is a revolution within the framework of a democratic society.

If historical phenomena were as neat and orderly as our categories of history, revolutions would occur only in moribund traditional societies where there is no free and mutual adjustment of interests and where the most defrauded segment of the community cannot move to attain its rights without shattering the whole rigid structure of a hierarchical community. We know of the revolutions in 17th century England, 18th century France and 20th century Russia. Yet even in those revolutions the peasants and the rising craftsmen arose as a revolutionary force only when internal strains and external exertions weakened the old order and gave them an opportunity to do so.

The motive power of their revolutionary actions was resentment against age-old grievances and injustices, borne "patiently" until deliverance seemed near; and the hopes generated by cracks in the old order. Revolutionary ardor is never, as Marx thought, pure resentment. It is a combination of resentment and hope. That is why revolutionary movements become more revolutionary in the process of their success. We should know about this double motive of revolutions as we watch the Negro revolution in its ups and downs, and begin to wonder why, as it meets with comparative success, it is developing more and more force.

Nor should we have too much difficulty in accounting for the strange phenomenon of a Negro revolution taking place in an open society, rather than in a traditional one. An open society prevents revolutions by allowing all economic, racial and cultural groups freedom to state their claims and defend their interests. The claims may not always be granted, or the interests acknowledged. But in a truly democratic society there is always some hope that genuine interests will gradually be recognized, and that in a spirit of mutual accommodation failure to grant them will be justified by their clearly interfering with other legitimate interests.

Thus, democratic communities are subject to an evolutionary process of adjustment, and not revolutions of the dispossessed. The current Negro revolution can be understood only if it is realized that the Negroes comprise a disinherited enclave in a free society. They bear the same unsatisfied longings of the ages, the same accumulated resentments against unredressed injustices, which the peasants of the ossified traditional communities bore in past centuries and which, according to Marx, the "proletariat" bore. But, happily, democratic society redressed these conditions, making the Marxist apocalypse of doom and utopia otiose throughout the whole of Western Europe. Of course, Western culture required a whole century to come to terms with the realities of modern industry. The mills of both God and democracy grind exceedingly slowly.

The Negroes, however, were left out of all, or at any rate most, of the beneficent consequences of this fluid evolutionary process. Despite the promises of a nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal," they lived in slavery in the self-conscious and self-righteous young nation "brought forth" on a new continent. Despite the fact that the slavery issue caused the Civil War, the victory of the North did more to "save the union," acknowledged by Lincoln to be his "primary purpose," than to emancipate the Negroes. Despite the assurances of the Fourteenth Amendment, Negroes remained both rightless and powerless in the sense that they were voteless.

After the Civil War, even the free states did not hasten to enfranchise Negroes under the Fourteenth Amendment. And today, a century later, most of the riots in the South are due to efforts to give Negroes the vote. These facts are almost too obvious to be recognized. The Negro revolution is a human nature that even

sympathetic whites must be reminded, as we recently have been by the gifted Negro novelist James Baldwin, of the historical reasons for the depth and breadth and virulence of Negro resentments.

The enclave of hopeless injustice in our generally open society obviously has its core in the "deep South" -- in Mississippi and Alabama and, in varying degrees, other states of the old Confederacy. But it also encompasses the entire nation, particularly the Northern urban centers to which the Southern Negroes fled. Here they are "emancipated," in the sense that they can vote, while being newly enslaved, in the sense that they must live in ghettos such as Harlem.

Still, these enclaves of injustice are in a community that is otherwise "open." Indeed, some of the effects of the present integration controversy stem from the contradictory influences of an open society containing a closed enclave. Birmingham illustrates the situation most poignantly. Under Martin Luther King's leadership, the Negroes conducted mass demonstrations against all forms of segregation. A joint interracial committee finally resolved the "tension" by promising desegregation of the large downtown department store facilities, promotion of Negroes to sales positions, and the formation of a permanent commission on race relations. These were the consequences of an open society allowing competition and accommodation of conflicting interests.

But on the night the accord was reached, a group of recalcitrant whites, opposed to opening the closed enclave, bombed the house of a Negro leader and the motel where the committee had met. Earlier, the same sort of men murdered a pure-hearted mail carrier who was carrying a message about the necessity for integration to the Governor of Alabama. A group of Birmingham Negroes, enraged by the bombing, went berserk, rioted and ruthlessly laid waste to several homes and businesses. Curiously -- or perhaps not so curiously -- these Negroes were not part of the group which had won accommodation from the whites. They were a group of hopeless men for whom the promise of Negro job opportunities seemed worthless, because they would be unemployed in any case. They spoke from the depths of the enclave of hopelessness.

Both the open society and the enclave of hopeless injustice will continue to have their contradictory effects. Whites, along with Negroes who retain hope of getting justice, will rejoice that this is not South Africa and that the only conceivable conclusion of the struggle is not a blood bath of violent revolution. An open society will in time encroach upon the boundaries of the enclave. Negroes with votes will use their power in favor of Negroes without votes. True, some of them may be demagogic Congressmen with unsavory records of racism in reverse. But, it should be remembered, we are dealing with outraged human beings, not with angels of virtue.

Some Negroes have already escaped from the enclave of prejudice by dint of extraordinary talent -- in sports, in the theater, in the concert hall. This is, to be sure, a bitter irony in this form of injustice. But even now only the most talented women are able to establish "equal rights" with men in politics and business. What is significant is that Negroes with high talent are breaking out of the enclave in increasing numbers, thus revealing the virtue of an open society, enlarging its openness, and refuting the libel about the "innate inferiority" of their race.

Another result of an open society is that, despite the educational handicaps from which the present drive for educational integration may ultimately rescue them, an ever greater number of Negroes are getting a university education either in Negro or integrated colleges. And these college students, especially in their sit-in protests against segregated eating places but also in the general agitation for justice, are performing the same service for their race which the articulate craftsmen performed for the less articulate peasants in the late middle ages and in the revolutions which established free governments.

These are the obvious consequences of the openness of our society. But the forces of tradition and custom, which uphold special privileges for a dominant race, are still powerful enough to preserve the enclaves of injustice for a century or more to come. We will have the tension of the integration struggle with us as long as we live in the precarious peace of the nuclear dilemma. The Negroes will naturally be impatient, and their impatience will hasten the process of justice and embarrass the "moderates."

Strangely enough, the only true proponents of a neat "class struggle" between the races are the Black Muslims, who believe Allah will perform the service which Marx expected from the "historical dialectic"; that is, guarantee them a black paradise in the nation. Since there is no "increasing misery" among Negroes in this country, however, there is no increasing revolutionary ardor, only constant pressure. We shall live for a long time with this pressure and with the contradictory consequences of a revolution in an open society.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy was probably too optimistic in his recent analogy between the history of the Irish and the Negroes in America. After pointing out that an Irish Catholic was elected President less than a century after the anti-Irish riots of the "know nothing" movement, he predicted that a Negro could be elected President in another half century. But the analogy is not exact. The Irish merely affronted us by having a different religion and a different place of origin than the "true" Americans. The Negroes affront us by diverging from the dominant type all too obviously. Their skin is black. And our celebrated reason is too errant to digest the difference.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

July 9, 1962

The Negro Problem: A Prognosis

by Gunnar Myrdal

As we can now look back over the era of Reconstruction with the wisdom of hindsight, we see clearly that the reason why so much went wrong and why so little permanent improvement of the lot of the Negroes in the South resulted was this: that the political revolution was not backed up by economic and social reform. As usual the leaders of that time tried to do great things too cheaply without paying the costs. The slogan "six acres and a mule" was never taken seriously by those in power-- just as in most of the underdeveloped countries of the world today land and tenancy reforms are proposed as programs and sometimes even enacted into law, but frustrated and nullified by the resistance of the vested interests.

In America this type of Reconstruction led to the great national compromise worked out in the late 1870's. The Negro people were left again to the mercy of the White upper caste in the South, now embittered by all that had followed their military defeat. Economically, the South deteriorated to a colonial status in its relation to the North, and as late as the Thirties Franklin Roosevelt could still characterize the South as the nation's "problem number one."

Until the end of the Thirties the status of the Negro people remained on the whole about unchanged. There were advances on some fronts, but retreats on others. Twenty years ago this era of relative stagnation so far as the Negroes' position is concerned had so impressed itself on American thinking that even the social scientists had generally come to believe that it was the natural order of things. Progress was foredoomed to be very gradual and slow, they believed, and nothing very much could be done to speed it up. In my study of the Negro problem in America at that time I came to the contrary conclusion, however, that this period of stagnation was only a temporary balancing of forces which was just on the verge of being broken. I saw big changes in the offing.

And, as we know, this actually happened. These last 20 years have been filled with advances on all fronts: in the labor market, in education, in the fields of social welfare and housing, in the structure of law and law observance, and generally in the enjoyment of more equal opportunities to do things, to move in society, to work, produce and consume without meeting segregation and discrimination. No historical trend of social change is a straight line, and there have been occasional setbacks. Prejudice itself is also slow to disappear, though its legal and institutional retaining walls are crumbling. There is still a long road to travel before America becomes in fact the egalitarian country of its creed. But in historical perspective the rapidity of progress is astonishing. Let us remember that practically all of this progress has taken place in the short period of the last 20 years, following six decades of stagnation -- and that its coming was not anticipated by most students of the American scene.

The progressive achievements of recent years have not been won without efforts. In the general advance unfortunate incidents occur which deeply disturb the participants. In a sense, unpleasant incidents even have a function to fulfill in this process of advance. In the last chapter of An American Dilemma I quoted a remark once made to me by a prominent and conservative Negro social scientist in the South; I can now reveal that the man I characterized in this way was my late friend Charles S. Johnson, the great sociologist and the first Negro president of Fisk University. He stated as his considered opinion that tensions are not necessarily bad and that under certain conditions even race riots may have wholesome effects in the long run. He continued in about the following way.

"They stir up people's conscience. People will have to think matters over. They prevent things from becoming settled. If the

race situation should ever become fixed, if the Negro were really accommodated, then, and only then, would I despair about a continued great improvement for Negroes. As long as there is friction and fighting, there is hope."

In this light, the Little Rock disturbances and the many other unfortunate incidents reported daily in the American press have their positive role to play in giving momentum to social advance. I realize that it is much easier for an outsider to take this lofty philosophical view than it is for the American citizen who has a duty to take a part in pressing social advance as rapidly as possible. And it must be particularly difficult for the young Negro intellectual who bears scars in his soul from all that yet remains of segregation and discrimination in American life. Nevertheless I maintain that it is important to see clearly that the trend moves steeply upwards, in order to avoid discouragement and to sustain the determination required in the skirmishing that may still be necessary. In this new epoch the Negro cause is a winning one.

I have not the slightest doubt that we shall continuously see great improvement in the Negro's status in American society, and I even foresee that the rising trend of the past two decades will accelerate. It would take me far afield to explain all my reasons for this conviction. But, among them, on the material side, is the growing affluence of a society which provides more elbow room for everybody and has little interest in pushing anybody into the ditch. On the spiritual side, there is the reality of the ideals enshrined in your constitution and rooted in the hearts of the American people. With rising levels of education the hold of these ideals in America is continuously strengthened. Increasingly, the false and derogatory beliefs about Negroes, which have filled the function of rationalizing prejudices, can be expressed only by those willing to betray their own lack of culture. As the white and Negro people are increasingly mingling in work and pleasure, all are discovering that they are the same sort of people with the same cultural moorings, the same likes and dislikes, and the same aspirations and ambitions for themselves and for America.

Just as until women are completely emancipated, every ambitious woman has also to stand for women's rights, so even today every Negro intellectual must feel called upon to supplement his work in his chosen vocation by being a "race man." This situation will remain until Negroes are generally accepted everywhere on a par with whites.

I should not be fully candid with you, if at this point I did not stress another implication of the integration of the Negroes in the wider American society, namely that the Negro professional middle and upper class will have to surrender economic monopolies which they have held, and are still holding, on the basis of prejudice. You cannot cry for the breaking down of the walls of segregation and discrimination while, at the same time, hoping to retain petty monopoly preserves among Negro clientele to give you a comfortable and uncontested economic safety. You must have the courage to choose a harder life in which your abilities will be tested against the norms established in the wider American society, and indeed in the whole world.

In the future America...there will be no place for a Negro university.

As the integration process proceeds the problems of the Negroes will gradually tend to disappear as separate problems. For a long time yet, there will undoubtedly be problems of breaking down segregation and discrimination against Negro families in housing. But the general problem of slum clearance in American cities is the bigger and more important one. And the Negro's stake in that bigger problem is the greater as there is no hope for a satisfactory separate solution to the housing problems of Negroes as long as slums remain a blot in American cities. The schools most Negro children attend are bad in the South and often in some parts of the North, but many other schools are also bad, and the best hope for Negroes, particularly in this period of desegregation, is a campaign for improving the schools generally. Likewise, Negroes, as members of the general community, have a particular interest in the extension of social security, an area in

which America is still rather backward (particularly in the field of health and hospitalization) by comparison with the most advanced countries. In this situation it is both natural and necessary that Negroes should support and join those forces in American society which stand for general social and economic progress. When narrower group interests are submerged and the pursuit of social advance for the white community is brought to the fore, a major step toward the complete integration of Negroes in American society will have been taken.

It probably still is broadly true, though less now than 20 to 30 years ago, that the Negroes are the "last hired and the first fired," and the incidence of unemployment of Negro workers is disproportionately heavy. The state of full employment, created by the war and preserved in the immediate postwar years, was of great importance on the economic side in supporting the rising trend in the Negro's status. The relative economic stagnation in America and the high level of unemployment in the Fifties is, for the same reason, particularly menacing for Negro advance. If continued stagnation should be the lasting condition for the American economy in the decades to come it will spell frustration internally and externally for America, and it might even slow down the upward trend of the Negro advance I have talked about. When I have expressed my faith that the trend to improvement of the Negroes' status will continue and indeed gather momentum, I have done so because I cannot believe that the American people will tolerate a stagnating economy for much longer. It is not necessary. Any economist worth his salt can tell you what is needed in the field of public policy to make America again a country of bold and rapid economic progress.

To fight discrimination against Negroes in the labor market remains naturally a task that cannot be relaxed. But much more important is the recreation of the conditions for American economic progress, as nothing is more effective in liquidating discrimination than full employment and a rising trend of incomes to all.

GUNNAR MYRDAL is a Swedish economist. During the 1930's he produced the classic sociological study of the American Negro, An American Dilemma. The present article is taken from an address to the graduating class of Howard University.